PHELPS MSS.

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Boston Nov. 8. 1838.

Dear Sir

We cannot express to you the anxiety we feel in regard to the result of the approaching election in your District. You have there taken your stand. Before heaven & earth you have said you would not vote for any man of any party who is not in favor of Immediate Emancipation in the District of Columbia & the Territory of Florida. In one word, you have sworn yourselves on the altar of Immediatism. Nay, it is for Immediatism, in opposition to ~~gradual~~ gradualism & indefinitism in all their forms, that you have been battling it, for six long years; & will you yield the whole question now — when you come to the ballot box? Never. Hold on, & hold on to immediatism, & nothing short of it, at the ballot box as well as elsewhere. It is the sheet anchor of our Cause. Let go of it for one moment — yield one inch in respect to it, & you have yielded every thing. All depends then on your maintaining your integrity next Monday, at the ballot box. All eyes are on Middlesex. The cause, ~~is~~ under God, is in your hands. Spurn then the cords of party. Be true to the slave; & all is safe.

There is, we apprehend but one mind, in regard to Mr. Parmenter. No abolitionist will think of voting for him. Our great fear is in respect to Mr. Brooks, & this, not because we are partizans, but because we are friends of the slave, & because we see that unwearied efforts are being made to hoodwink abolitionists in respect to him, by making them believe that he is one with them & will do all they desire. Among other things, Mr Hoar of Concord has come out with a letter in which he says — "I firmly believe that there is, in substance, a perfect coincidence between his (Mr. Brooks') opinions on this subject & my own;" and it is asked, what would abolitionists have more? True, a "coincidence" there may be, but who knows what Mr. Hoar's opinions are? To be sure he spoke manfully, when in Congress, in defence of Dr. Channing & the right of free discussion, but then who knows, distinctly & definitely, what his opinions are, on the main question — viz that of Immediate Emancipation in the District & Territory.

Now then we say, not as party men — Heaven forbid — but as friends of the slave, that we are assured from individuals who have also conversed with Mr. B. that there is no "coincidence" between his opinions and those of immediate abolitionists but that he is a decided & thorough Colonizationist. We say then, that it is our most serious & solemn conviction, that as consistent abolitionists, your only course, in the approaching election is to scatter your votes. We entreat you then to see that every abolitionist in your town is made acquainted with the above statement, & that he furnishes himself, or is furnished, with a ballot for some good man & true, before he goes to the polls.

Yours for the slave
A. A. Phelps.
H. B. Stanton.

Ms. A. 21. 8. 83